DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 422 750 FL 025 472

AUTHOR	Kamada, Laurel D.
TITLE	Bilingual Family Case Studies (Vol. 2). Monographs on Bilingualism No. 5.
INSTITUTION	Japan Association for Language Teaching, Tokyo.
PUB DATE	1997-10-00
NOTE	64p.; Produced by the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Bilingualism; Case Studies; Chinese; Comparative Analysis; Educational Background; English; Family Environment; *Family Influence; Family (Sociological Unit); Fathers; Foreign Countries; Japanese; Language Acquisition; Language Dominance; Language Proficiency; Language Research; *Language Role; Monolingualism; Mothers; Native Speakers; *Parent Influence; Place of Residence; Second Language Learning; *Second Languages; *Sex Differences; Travel
IDENTIFIERS	Missionaries

ABSTRACT

The group of case studies of family bilingualism examined the influences of maternal and paternal native language, schooling choices, travel and residence choices, and family background on development of bilingualism in the children. The families studied include eight Japanese-English bilingual families (one study including five generations) and two Chinese-Japanese families, including a total of 20 children. In each case, the family, language, and educational background of each family member is described and the family context for bilingualism is explored. The educational choices of the families and some of the main themes emerging in the case studies are also summarized. Themes identified include: the important influence of the parents in language development; the greater influence of the mother's native language; development of passive bilingualism; the role of parent language use in language loss or attrition; the differential roles of parent monolingualism and bilingualism; the influence of missionary upbringing; the importance of reinforcement of language skills in families changing location; long trips overseas as a factor in bilingual development; and the role of minority language literacy training in the home. (Contains 3 references.) (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 422 750

Monographs on Bilingualism No.5

Bilingual Family Case Studies (Vol.2)

ある家庭におけるバイリンガリズム （その2）

by Laurel D. Kamada

10 more case studies of bilingual families in Japan and an analysis of the main factors influencing success in a bilingual upbringing.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Stephen M. Ryan

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

1

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Produced by the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching.

Contents

1. Paternal vs. maternal NNL influence: Leah, the NNL mother

父親と母親の子供への影響：母親の場合 1

2. Paternal vs. maternal NNL influence: Paul, the NNL mother

父親と母親の子供への影響：父親の場合 4

3. Rui: The effect of frequent trips home

頻繁に本国へ帰省する影響 7

4. The Wilkensons: Language as it comes

自然なアプローチ 10

5. Paul and Jamie: Third culture kids

第三文化の子供達 14

6. Sang Ruo: The effects of future uncertainty and laxness

不確定と不注意の影響 18

7. Masami: The influence of a family's positive attitude

家族の積極的な態度の影響 21

8. A brief history of bilingual schooling in Japan seen through five generations of one family

一家族の五世代にわたって見られる二か国語教育の歴史 25

9. The Ghent family: The nurture/nature question revisited

先天性／後天性の問題再検討 33

10. Naoki: The returnees' dilemma

帰国子女の板ばさみ 43

Summary of Main Themes and Lessons Learned

主題と教訓のまとめ 47

References 58

Monographs on Bilingualism No.5

Bilingual Family Case Studies (Vol.2)

ある家庭におけるバイリンガリズム （その2）

by Laurel D. Kamada

10 more case studies of bilingual families in Japan and an analysis of the main factors influencing success in a bilingual upbringing.

過去5年間鎌田ローレル氏は日本に住むバイリンガル家族にインタビューし彼らの言語や文化の経験を全国語学教育学会のバイリンガリズム研究部会のニュースレターの中でケーススタディをシリーズで報告してきました。このモノグラフにはそのシリーズの最近１０ケースとそれに加えてバイリンガリズムの発展を促進するように（またはその反対のように）思われる要因の分析が入っています。

Produced by the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching.

© October, 1997. Osaka, Japan.

1. Paternal vs. maternal NNL influence: Leah, the NNL mother

父親と母親の子供への影響：母親の場合

In my first collection of case studies (Kamada, 1995b), I presented some preliminary hypotheses and conclusions based on ten studies. One of those hypotheses stated that when the non-native language (NNL) parent was the mother, the chances of the child attaining bilinguality were generally much greater than if the NNL parent was the father. In order to further investigate this hypothesis, children were selected from two families, each parented by a Japanese national and an NNL speaker. Both NNL parents were children of a New Zealand (NZ) missionary family living in the north of Japan. In this first case study, I will introduce the background of the family of the siblings and examine the case of the offspring of the female sibling. In the next one, I will present the case of the children of the male sibling and offer some analysis and conclusions in regards to the above stated hypothesis.

Both NNL speaking grandparents of the children (the same grandparents for both families) were born and raised in NZ and met and married in Japan during the early years of their missionary service. Since then, they have lived consistently in Japan, and are today living in the same northern town where both of their children's families also reside, having made only occasional, one-year furloughs back to NZ at about 5 or 6 year intervals while the children were growing up. In 1961 their first child, Paul Crawford, was born and two years later a daughter, Leah, was born. English was used exclusively in the home except when Japanese guests were present and then Japanese was required. The children never attended Japanese schools, but were instead home-schooled in the NZ school curriculum by their mother. Both Paul and Leah became balanced bilinguals with dominance in English literacy. At one stage, before the first furlough, Japanese was used as the language between the siblings even though the parents used only English with them. However, the first one-year furlough spent in NZ caused a shift in the sibling language to English, and it was maintained from then on, even back in Japan.

Leah states that her two languages serve different functions. For social relationships, communication in Japanese is smoother than English and sometimes she feels awkward in English speaking situations where she sometimes finds herself lost for words. However, English serves her better for academic topics of conversation and literacy. Although she can read Japanese quite well, it is below peer level with other Japanese literates and falls well below her English literacy ability which is at peer level with native language literates.

Paul and Leah were raised totally in Japan except for, as mentioned above, one-year furloughs on two occasions, in which the whole family went back to NZ, when Paul was 7-8 and Leah was 5-6 and then again five years later when Paul was 12-13 and Leah was 10-11. During this time, they attended regular public schools in NZ. After the completion of the home-taught NZ curriculum at 16 years old, the NZ embassy in Tokyo issued Leah a high school diploma and she entered Tokyo's Sophia University for the next four years to receive a university education. Upon completion, she returned "home" to northern Japan and married her long-time Japanese boyfriend.

Leah's husband had a typical Japanese upbringing in regards to foreign languages and culture until his sophomore year at university when he decided to take a little time to attend bible school in NZ. A half year later he returned to Japan, completed his BA in linguistics and shortly thereafter married Leah. After spending one year as an English teacher in a Japanese junior high school, he left for NZ again with Leah and spent the next 3 years attaining a masters degree in English literature. By the time he returned to Japan, he was able to understand most spoken English and he was fairly confident in his English speaking. Soon he received a position as a lecturer in English at a university. In March, 1991, their son, Willy--now 3 1/2, was born.

Willy has only ever spent 3 1/2 weeks outside of Japan, in the summer of 1994 at 3 years old, when he went with his family to NZ. For the first two years of Willy's life, his mother worked full-time and often overtime leaving him in the care of

Japanese baby-sitters for 10 to 11 hours per day. Leah was only able to spend two or three waking hours daily with Willy, in which she made feeble efforts to use English most of the time. The father was able to spend more time with Willy and the language used was Japanese. Although, as mentioned above, Leah's husband's spoken English is good and his comprehension even better, during this time only Japanese was used between the parents.

When Willy was 2 1/2 years old a tremendous turning point came about as a result of many factors. Perhaps the most striking problem became evident when Leah began to realize Willy's preference for his baby-sitter and a rejection of her. Naturally Willy was producing Japanese and not English at this time, also causing great concern. Then, unexpectedly, Willy developed a severe reaction to a vaccine and had to be hospitalized for several weeks. For all of these reasons, and also because some of the earlier financial burden and necessity for Leah to work was relieved, an opportunity emerged for Leah to reassess her life and her priorities. She quit her full-time job and took on work only as an extra for personal satisfaction. An attempt was made, with relative success, to switch the language used between the parents to English. The father started to try to use English with Willy, but still continued to break into Japanese occasionally when communication became jeopardized.

It was from this point on that Willy's bilinguality began to emerge. Leah spent time reading books and speaking to Willy in English. At first, when Willy would respond to the English in Japanese, Leah would pretend not to understand English or she would clue him in how to say it in English. For example, Willy would request, "*Mizu, choudai.*" Leah would respond, "Wha--, Wha---," prompting Willy to say "water." During this time Leah felt some anxiety about Willy's frustration at his difficulty in expressing himself in English.

It was at this time (the summer of '94) that Willy was taken to NZ for 3 1/2 weeks. He attended a playgroup for two or three mornings a week. Aside from this, he spent time with his cousins and relatives, which had a big influence on him. Leah

reports that upon return to Japan, it seemed that Willy just started speaking English more. And since then Willy's English production has been on the increase. Leah feels that his English is about equal to his Japanese now [mid-1995]. When Leah asked her mother-in-law about Willy's Japanese level, the grandmother responded, "Of course it's at peer level." Leah's not sure whether there is some family bias in this observation but it appears that Willy is for the most part a balanced bilingual with peer or near-peer level ability in both languages.

Willy has begun to show interest in writing some English words over the last few months. He can read most of the capital and lower-case letters and has taught himself to write them as well. He has written a few words such as zoo, pig, bee, and cat and he is able to read those words which he can write. There is a large and growing library of English books in their home. Also Willy has English puzzles, videos and music tapes. Leah says that they seldom watch television and she only occasionally breaks down and buys a Japanese children's magazine for Willy, and even when she does, she soon tries to hide it and instead place the English books in prime viewing places.

This is a home where English is purposely being input, the result of which is the successful development of two languages in the child. Beyond merely the cultivation of bilingualism, however, was the need to instill and preserve the mother tongue. This was mainly brought about by the reassessment of an unconducive situation and a shift in priorities and life's agenda to insure success.

2. Paternal vs. maternal NNL influence: Paul, the NNL mother

父親と母親の子供への影響：父親の場合

Like his sister Leah, Paul also married a Japanese national: a kindergarten teacher and somewhat typical Japanese woman with English speaking skills slightly higher than average due to two years spent overseas in NZ (explained below). Paul

worked for a few years in a girls' high school in Japan after marriage and in August 1985, their first son, Jon, was born. When Jon was 18 months old, the family left for NZ where Paul simultaneously taught in a high school and studied towards attaining a post-graduate diploma in Second Language Teaching. They returned to Japan two years later when Jon was 3 1/2 years old. Paul received employment at this time at a girls high school in the same city where Leah's family and the missionary grandparents also reside. In July, 1991, their second son, Jorge, was born.

Up until the family left for NZ when Jon was 18 months old, the mother spoke Japanese to baby Jon, and Paul made efforts to speak in English although Jon was not yet speaking. During the two years in NZ, the father continued using English while the mother continued with Japanese. In the second year of their stay in NZ, Jon spent three mornings per week attending a playgroup where English was spoken.

Upon return to Japan at 3 1/2 years old, Jon was conversing at peer level in English. Although he was able to communicate with his mother in Japanese, he had trouble that April when he first entered kindergarten, as it took him some time to acquire peer level Japanese. However, as his Japanese came up to peer level, his English declined. For the first year back, Paul tried to keep up speaking English with Jon. But Paul noticed that Jon's English was still at the same 3 1/2 year old level a year later. Jon now needed to discuss more difficult things at a higher maturity level. Paul says that it was for the sake of communication that he felt compelled to switch over to Japanese to talk about such subjects as insects. As Paul became busier, he was able to spend less time per day with Jon. However, Paul attributes the greatest blow to Jon's English to entry into Japanese kindergarten at age 4.

About a year and a half after their return, at 5 years old, Jon was taken to America for 3 weeks where he stayed with a family who had a boy nearly the same age as him. This experience helped improve his deteriorating English for a while. But with little daily reinforcement back in Japan, English attrition continued.

When Jon was 7 years old an effort was made to send him to the NZ grandmother's house once a week for English practice. This continued for a few years. However, during this time Jon himself never felt the need to speak English or to identify with that language. It got to the point where the bilingual grandmother just wanted to be "Nana" and not have to be a strict old teacher and the project was terminated about a half year ago, without much apparent success.

Now Paul uses almost exclusively Japanese with Jon and other members of his family. Sometimes when he thinks about it he tries to use some English with Jon. Paul feels that Jon can understand a lot of English although he can no longer respond in English.

As far as the younger boy, Jorge, is concerned, there was never any attempt to try to teach English to him. At this point Jorge is totally monolingual in Japanese.

Leah relayed a recent event when Paul and Leah's family were together that she feels explains how fundamentally different the siblings' approach to the question of bilingual upbringing is. Seeing young Willy using English naturally, Paul remarked to Leah, "How are you getting Willy to speak English?" Leah feels that it is her constant use of English and correction of errors that caused Willy to start speaking. Later when Willy said, "I buy this puzzle," Leah simply stated, "bought. . . I bought this puzzle." Upon hearing what might have sounded like nagging, Paul advised Leah, "Oh Leah, give the kid a break. Leave it to his latent ability." But according to Leah, that is just the reason why Willy is speaking English now--she did not leave it to anything, but her own constant efforts.

Paul says that although he had wanted Jon to keep his English, he felt that he was fighting a losing battle that was too difficult. If he had a chance to go overseas or if something should come up in his future, he would jump at any possibility. However, for now, he is more concerned with Jon growing up naturally rather than in an unnatural, forced situation. As a bilingual himself, Paul says that although he feels there is an advantage to being bilingual, he does not particularly feel that it needs to

be passed on to his son. Right now 9-year old Jon himself doesn't see the need to be bilingual, so Paul will leave the choice up to Jon in his future.

All three of these children--Willy, Jon and Jorge--are speaking their mother tongue and it was only Willy who was really ever at risk of not developing this ability. It was with a passion and fervor upon realizing this danger that the mother totally changed courses of action. Perhaps it is a deep mother instinct in women which helps them overcome even the most challenging difficulties of language and communication, often with much self-sacrifice made in ways that men are often either financially or socially unable to make. And perhaps it can also be said that the innate paternal drive to instill a father tongue in offspring is not nearly as strong as is the maternal desire to pass on the language of the mother tongue.

One last point needs to be mentioned here. The linguistic future of these three children is at this point unknown. After all, when Jon was Willy's age, he was also a balanced bilingual. Perhaps initial imprinting of a language at an early age will have lasting enough effects on the root development of the dendrites in the brain so that when later attempts to re-learn the language are made, surprisingly successful results may emerge. By junior high school or later, perhaps Jon's English ability will re-emerge. As for our bilingual, Willy, perhaps caution is needed as he enters Japanese kindergarten for the first time this coming spring.

3. Rui: The effect of frequent trips home

頻繁に本国へ帰省する影響

Huang Xiao Chun came to Japan from Wuhan, China ten years ago. He met his Chinese wife, also from Wuhan, in Japan where they got married. They both developed the ability to use Japanese with near fluency. Aside from that Huang also has a good command of English. Their first child, a son, Rui, who is now five years old (5:3), was born in Kyoto, Japan (11/21/89). Their second son, Xing Zi was born six months ago. This case study will focus on their older son, Rui.

Rui's Chinese grandmother came over to take care of him for the first half year of his life and Chinese was used exclusively during this period at home. However, from four months of age, he began attending a *hoikuen* (day-care), from 8:30 AM until 5:00 PM, where the language used was Japanese. When Rui turned one and a half, the father began to live apart from the family in the north of Japan due to work and would only see Rui on occasions and during summer vacations. This continued until Rui was four years old when, with the mother, he joined the father in northern Japan.

The father regards his son's language acquisition as precocious as Rui started producing language at 10 months of age. At this initial stage of language production, Rui could already be said to be bilingual. His first words were those which the grandmother had consciously worked on instilling. However, the non-mother-tongue (Japanese) soon came to be the dominant language as the grandmother's presence was removed and day-care became central. Although Rui could understand Chinese that was spoken to him, he produced mostly Japanese after his first birthday. He would respond in Japanese to Chinese spoken to him. At one and a half he could sing several Japanese songs and a few in Chinese. Perhaps contributing to Rui's precocious language propensity is his outgoing, happy personality.

By the time Rui went to China for the first time in March, 1991 at 1:3 he was not producing any Chinese at all. After about six weeks in China, he returned to Japan speaking Chinese "like a foreigner" in his father's words. Sometimes when he was speaking Japanese, Chinese vocabulary would come out. However, over time, he began to loose more and more of his Chinese vocabulary. Every year since then, Rui has gone back to China at about the same time of year for about the same amount of time, six weeks. And it seems that every time he goes his level of Chinese rises. By the time of his return from his third visit, at three and a half, his father states that Rui's Chinese no longer had the ring of a foreigner, but was now spoken with perfect standard Chinese inflection and pronunciation, even though the grandfather

spoke in a heavy local accent. The father related a strange phenomenon when Rui was 3:8 in which, two to three months after his return to Japan, Rui suddenly started to produce new Chinese phrases which he had not heard before.

After Rui's third trip back to China, the parents began to try consciously to input more Chinese at home. Aside from half days on Saturdays with the mother alone, though, Rui spent only about 3 to 4 waking hours per day and Sundays with both parents.

There are very sparse Chinese language tools in the Huang home; there are no Chinese video tapes, no audio tapes and only a few Chinese picture books. For the most part the mother has had to rely on her own efforts to teach Chinese without such tools. During the summer when Rui was 2:8, the mother's vacation allowed her to bring Rui to the father's home in northern Japan for three months. With no friends and lots of time, the mother took the opportunity to teach Chinese *kanji* to Rui. Using word cards, Rui initially learned 100 Chinese *kanji*, of which, the father states, many were later forgotten.

The mother does not read Chinese picture books to Rui while in Japan; instead Japanese picture books are read in Japanese about every other day for five to ten minutes. And, since about 3 years old, Rui can read simple Japanese picture books by himself in *hiragana*. He apparently was not taught this at home, but learned *hiragana* in an excellent day care center in Kyoto which he attended until 4 years old before moving to northern Japan. He can also write *hiragana* and a few *kanji* and sent out several self-written New Year's greeting cards to his Kyoto friends this year and some last year.

In the home the parents mix the languages, but mostly try to use Chinese, with a ratio of about 60% Chinese to 40% Japanese. However, outside of the home Rui uses Japanese exclusively, and overall his dominant language is Japanese where his language ability is at peer level. His Chinese is less than peer level but the language spoken is more adultlike than his Japanese in expression and vocabulary. The father

estimates Rui's language production to be 60 - 70% Japanese and 30 - 40% Chinese. After returning from China each time, however, Rui uses Chinese exclusively at first. But after one month, the Chinese gets less and less and then levels out.

The father feels that it would be best if Rui could speak the "three basic languages": Chinese, Japanese and English. The father will likely get a chance later this year to go to America for a half year and if so, the entire family will accompany him. At the moment, Rui's Japanese is far better than his Chinese. The father is a little worried about this, but doesn't want to push anything unnaturally for fear that it may cause rejection. He feels that language learning like any creative learning at this young age should be fun and meaningful and not forced or pounded in. (The father is against the principle of *juku* and emphasis on examination skills.) He sees making trips back to China as the best way to teach his son not only the Chinese language, but also Chinese culture.

4. The Wilkensons: Language as it comes

自然なアプローチ

The bilingual acquisition of the Wilkenson's two children's (Kei, 16:6; Sean, 7:7) is interesting and unique for a number of reasons. In many respects this family supports my earlier hypothesis of families in which minority language fathers (Steve is British) coupled with dominant language mothers (Eri is Japanese) often result in an easy-going approach to minority language acquisition. Perhaps it was due to the fact that when Steve and Eri first met, Steve had only recently arrived in Japan and knew very little Japanese, that a pattern was established early where English was the language used between them. This point is not unusual in many such international relationships in Japan, except for the fact that Eri had a three year old Japanese daughter, Kei, from a previous marriage. Thus a pattern of language use between Steve and his future daughter was also established early: Steve would speak in English while Kei responded in Japanese.

It wasn't until Kei was seven that Steve and Eri actually tied the knot, by which time the pattern of language exchange in the family was set. The parents communicated with one another in English, between mother and daughter Japanese was used, and the father and daughter communicated with the father speaking English and the daughter speaking Japanese.

In 1987, a boy, Sean, was born and the pattern of language use of the parents to the second child remained unchanged; Steve spoke English to Sean, and Eri used Japanese. Sean responded in Japanese for the most part until 6 years old, after an 8-month overseas stay (explained below). From that point on he would use Japanese for the most part with some interspersed attempts to use English with the father when he was able to. The language between the siblings was Japanese.

Now at 16 years old, Kei has already had four overseas trips. When she was three, she went to the USA with her mother for two months. During this time Kei attended a pre-school twice a week for half-days while her mother studied English. At seven years old, Kei was taken to America by Steve for about 3 weeks in which Steve supervised several Japanese on a home-stay project. Steve and Kei stayed at the American grandfather's house. At 9 years old, Kei went again to America, this time alone as a member of the same home-stay project for another 3 weeks. Her fourth overseas venture was for 8 months when the whole family lived in Oregon. Kei spent 6 of these months attending American school in the 8th grade.

Steve and Eri explained that upon return from each of these overseas experiences, Kei never began speaking English at home--the pattern could not be broken in the home, although Steve says that he has heard her using English to others. After her third trip, at nine years old, Steve comments that even though she didn't produce English, it appeared that there had been big internal changes.

The fourth experience overseas for Kei was for eight months as a new face in an American middle school during the pubescent age of 14. This apparently was a very hard and frustrating experience for Kei. In subjects like math she was able to

maintain her A to B level, but English and history were very hard.

Kei's parents describe her as neither shy nor outgoing. Although she appears shy and quiet, her mother says sometimes she can be very expressive. By Japanese standards she is average in this respect. Her attitude towards English study is somewhat passive. She doesn't study, but still maintains an A to B average. Although she never uses English at home, as mentioned above, Steve has heard her speak to others such as the American grandfather, and some of Steve's foreign friends.

Sean had been overseas on two short 10-day visits with no significant changes in his language production before living in Oregon for 8 months from five to six years of age. During this time he attended pre-school several times a week where he made a few friends. He didn't start producing language until the last couple of months there. Steve and Eri recall that Sean produced his first English sentence during this time. Now he's been back in Japan for two years and although he has maintained quite a lot, a certain amount has dropped off and there has been no new English progression to curtail the attrition, according to the father.

Sean's personality is outgoing, active and sociable. He also has an easy-going, non-competitive side to his nature. As for his attitude towards English, his father says that he has shown no signs of rebellion although he gets frustrated at times.

The Wilkenson home is equipped with only about 6 English language videos that are mainly for Sean. Kei, like other Japanese girls her age, listens to popular English language music for fun, not for English study, although there may be a spin-off learning effect. As far as English books are concerned, there are a few which the father reads to Sean once or twice a week, dropping off from a year ago when it used to be three to four times per week. In contrast, the mother reads to Sean in Japanese every night. Steve says that at present he is only able to spend a few hours per day in the presence of Sean and only about one hour with Kei.

As far as English literacy is concerned, according to the father, Kei can read and write in English at about the level of most Japanese college students. Sean is only at

the level of being able to recognize letters.

The mother says that Sean's Japanese literacy ability is a little bit below peer level and as far as speaking is concerned, it is almost at peer level, perhaps slightly below peer. Kei's Japanese literacy is peer level. When asked about Sean's English speaking ability in relation to peer level, the parents gave conflicting answers; the mother perceived his English speaking ability to be only 20 to 30% where the father assessed it to be 50%. Kei was assessed to be 50% of peer level as her English is more correct and she has a larger vocabulary.

However, when asked, "Is either child bilingual?" both parents answered with a flat "No." Steve described his children as Japanese kids with English ability far in excess of their Japanese peers. When compared with their English speaking peers, it would be far lower, he says.

The family has no plans to go back overseas. When pressed to state their purpose or goal in relation to bilingualism, they said that they hope that their children would become conversationally competent as much as possible. The mother, who is herself bilingual and has a Japanese/English translation business says that she herself became bilingual as an adult and that becoming bilingual is expected to take a long time. The father feels that the process should be as natural as possible with no pressure: The father, from the beginning used English at home, not as a policy for bilingual input, but rather because it was more comfortable for him to do so. Both parents are easy-going and relaxed about things in general, including their children's language development and want to choose the natural route. Steve says that he would like to optimize the opportunity for his kids to be exposed to English, but to do so without pressure.

As for Kei, she has already been selected by her teacher to receive a government-sponsored home-stay in America for three weeks this coming summer. Steve sees this type of natural approach to language acquisition as much more beneficial than any unnatural home techniques. Steve feels that an overseas stay for a

certain length of time is the only way one can really expect bilinguality to develop.

Although sometimes when Steve hears of bilingual success stories, he might feel a small twinge of guilt, for the most part he is happy with his situation. As his expectations are not so high, he doesn't feel frustrated. The mother acknowledges that in lieu of the unique dialogue between Steve and Kei, they really have very good communication. Steve feels that his children are better off than most other kids of other bilingual families by the standard of his small northern town in Aomori Prefecture. He concedes, however, that this standard may be very different than that of bilingual families in Tokyo.

5. Paul and Jamie: Third culture kids

第三文化の子供達

David Miller describes his two boys (Paul, 3:11 [7-28-91]; Jamie 6:10 [8-17-88]) as "third culture kids." David is not sure whether this term comes out of the missionary jargon of his peers or is actually a well-used sociological term. He defines it as children who grow up in another culture but are not products of mixed nationality parents; the children are neither a product simply of the first culture of their parents, nor of the second culture where they are raised, but are an amalgam of both, comprising a separate, third, culture.

David and Jeanette Miller came to Japan from Scotland as missionaries nine years ago. Before embarking on the mission, they both studied Japanese for one and a half years. Although David's Japanese is said to be better than Jeanette's, they can both communicate orally without problems and they can also read a little.

Jamie was born in Japan in 1988 and has lived here continuously except for a one-year furlough with the family at two and a half years old. During this year in Scotland, the second boy, Paul, was born, in 1991. Jamie at three and a half and Paul at six months old returned with their parents to Japan. A daughter, Katie, was born 9 months ago, but will not be discussed further here.

The home language has always been English and this was the first language both boys produced. When the younger boy, Paul, first began producing language over a year ago, the siblings communicated in English, but recently they have begun using Japanese between them some of the time. The mother says that the language used between the boys depends on the nature of the game that they are playing. If they are playing "Robot *Gattai*" then they will use Japanese expressions. However, if they are playing "Lego Battle" or a made-up game called "Dinosaurs," they will use English.

Jamie, who has spent the past three years attending Japanese kindergarten, is now in first grade, where he spends his day until around 2:00. Once a week he also immerses himself in Japanese at his Japanese friend's house after school. Aside from this, Japanese is heard on Sunday where the family spends half-days at church. Other than that, most of his time is spent with both parents conversing in English.

The mother recalls that when Jamie first began producing Japanese in kindergarten he sometimes didn't really even totally understand what his words meant. For example, when he saw his mother rolling out long thin rolls of bread dough one day, he exclaimed, "*Hebi mitai*," (That looks like a snake). Then he turned to his mother and said, "What does *hebi* mean?" This was a phrase he had heard Japanese kids using in reference to long, thin things such as clay rolled out. He knew the word *mitai* meant "looks like" enabling him to copy the Japanese children's use of the phrase, use it in the correct context, and understand the meaning from context without actually knowing that *hebi* meant snake.

Jamie is approaching balanced bilinguality, but as yet his English is stronger. He is also picking up new phrases daily from his school environment. His parents assess that he is nearly at peer level in English. When Jamie went to Scotland at two and a half, it was clear that he was well below peer level in English. However, during that one year he was able to come up to peer level. Since his return, he has apparently dropped back from peer level in terms of language based on cultural knowledge and slang jargon, although his English grammatical ability seems to have

remained at peer level.

As far as Jamie's Japanese is concerned, his vocabulary is especially limited and below peer level. His Japanese grammar is only slightly below peer according to his parents. His mother says that he thinks differently than Japanese kids. He has an extremely imaginative and humorous mind and tries to transfer that into his spoken Japanese. In contrast, he can't understand the world of *fami-kon* (family computer) language that his Japanese peers are imbued in. It is in these realms that he occasionally meets with language misunderstanding. On the other hand, Jamie has developed a humorous approach to bilinguality . At only six years old he has invented some very clever puns by playing with the two languages. For example, in reference to *shika* (a deer), he said, "I can't buy it." When asked why not, he answered, "It's too deer." In another situation where Jamie saw a cuckoo, he said, "That's ugly." When his mother asked, "Why do you think it's ugly," he answered, "because it's *kakou warui*," meaning, "because it looks ugly," a play on the word kakou which sounds like "Cuckoo *warui*."

The younger boy, Paul, mainly speaks in English which seems to be at peer level. He didn't speak any Japanese except for a few isolated words before entering kindergarten a few months ago. However, after about three to four weeks he began producing Japanese phrases. His Japanese, of course, is still way below peer level at this time, although the rate at which he is now beginning to pick up new Japanese is rapidly increasing. Sometimes his mother hears him speaking nonsense with clear Japanese intonation and rhythm. Recently he has begun picking up words from Japanese songs which he enjoys singing.

The boys are allowed to watch television between 4:30 and 6:00 PM of which they spend about half the time watching one of their 20 to 25 English language videotapes, and the other half of the time watching Japanese television. Sometimes the family rents videos to watch at home. In the past those were English language tapes, but more recently the boys have come to prefer the Japanese titles. However,

if the videotape is bilingual, they boys prefer to watch it in English.

As for books in the home, nearly all of them are in English. The mother says that she reads to the boys together for about 15 to 20 minutes per day. There have been some slow efforts to teach Jamie to read, but the mother doesn't want to push it and she tries to make it like play. She has purchased Scottish school reading texts but has found it a struggle to get Jamie beyond the bored stage. Jamie has had much more success with Japanese literacy in Japanese school. One month prior to entering school Jeanette taught him *hiragana* and now Jamie is very motivated to learn Japanese. He writes a daily diary in Japanese for his homework. He is also good at drawing. His mother said that he can write *katakana* although she never taught him - he appears to have taught himself.

His English needs more coaching, but Jamie has shown an interest in knowing the contents of stories, intrigued by the cover illustrations and swept by his vivid imagination. As of now Jamie can write his ABC's and can write sentences if the words are spelled out for him. Jeanette feels that he is a fast learner and hopes to spend the summer vacation getting him caught up on reading and writing in English.

When asked if bilinguality is important, David said that it is not important for career, but it is necessary for survival here in Japan where they live. His long-term aim is for his children to get a good education and to be able to fit back into their own culture. How will they feel about their own culture? Will they have cultural identity problems? Where will their memories lie? David acknowledges problems as well as advantages to being third culture kids. He hopes the children will not feel rootless and that they'll be able to say where home is.

They are planning another furlough for a year starting next March. Jeanette mentioned that the very idea of "going home in March" can be confusing for the boys whose home has always been Japan. Jeanette tries to teach them that "home is family" - sometimes that is here, sometimes that is Scotland. She hopes that they will be able to fit into English medium universities - that they will be able to get

education and employment in western society. In order to do so she does not want to limit their opportunities by giving them only Japanese education. Thus by middle and high school she would like to enroll them in international schools. The purpose would be to teach them not only English language skills, but also creative thinking which, she says, is basically ignored in the Japanese educational system. She recognizes and appreciates, on the other hand, the aspect of Japanese education that is her weakness: discipline. She would like to benefit from the best of both worlds. The bottom line, however, is that development of self-esteem, social relationships, imagination and humor is the priority.

6. Sang Ruo: The effects of future uncertainty and laxness

不確定と不注意の影響

Just after his third birthday, Li Sang Ruo (presently 7:3 [born 5/31/88]) was brought to Japan from Shanghai, China to be reunited with his parents by his maternal grandparents after being cared for by them for two years. At this point Sang Ruo was speaking in Shanghai dialect, quite remote from standard Mandarin Chinese and the acquired language of the father from Jiang Xi Province. The mother was working full-time then and the father was busy completing graduate studies at university in Japan. By this stage, both parents were quite fluent in both Japanese speaking as well as literacy acquired from over 17 years of study and use of the language dating back to university study in China.

The grandparents remained in Japan with the family for three months. After one month had passed, Sang Ruo began day care weekdays from 9 to 5 leaving only about 4 waking hours per day and weekends to interact with the parents. At first the parents used mainly Chinese (about half Mandarin and half Shanghai dialect) with some Japanese, but their language use was totally without rules or thought. The father expressed some regret for having used Japanese, but says that the reason for encouraging use of Japanese was an anxiousness over Sang Ruo's apparently late

verbal production of Japanese which wasn't heard until after about a year and a half in Japan, at 4:6. They were concerned about his welfare at school. No such problems were encountered with his first language production, Chinese. His father states that his lack of Japanese language progress was probably due to his lack of concentration.

Perhaps another reason for Sang Ruo's late Japanese production was the influence of his Chinese grandparents who, of course, did not speak Japanese. At the age of four Sang Ruo went to China for about 3 weeks and three or four months later he went to Hong Kong for one week. A few months later his grandmother made another trip to Japan and stayed for 2 1/2 months. Again at five years old Sang Ruo went to China, but this time for 10 days, and again at six years old for only one week.

When he first started speaking Japanese he still used both languages with the Shanghai dialect being used for more difficult expressions, at first. The parents at this time were not conscious of which language they used: a mixture of Shanghai dialect, standard Mandarin Chinese and Japanese. At this time the father used mostly Mandarin and the mother used mostly Japanese, for convenience and "kindness" to Sang Ruo as it seemed to be the easiest language for communication.

From about the time that Sang Ruo began producing Japanese, at 4:6 he began speaking Chinese (Shanghai dialect) less and less until he stopped speaking it altogether about a half year later. From one month before Sang Ruo turned six up to the present, the father's work took him to a northern Japanese city and left Sang Ruo and his mother in Tokyo. This removed even further the Mandarin input.

At the end of March of this year [1995] the Chinese grandparents made another three-month trip to see their beloved seven year old grandson, Sang Ruo whom they raised as a baby and heard produce his first words. It was with great disappointment that this warmth and closeness established earlier was now distanced by a lack of verbal communication. Sang Ruo can understand about 90% of what is spoken to him in Shanghai dialect if it is presented slowly and simply in caretaker's language. Then he can manage to catch the meaning. However, for the most part, he can no longer

respond in Chinese. Nonetheless, the father feels that the potential to speak Chinese (both Shanghai dialect and Mandarin) remains in his brain. He sees Sang Ruo trying to make efforts to speak Chinese to those people who can't speak Japanese such as the grandparents. Towards the end of the three-month stay of the grandparents, Sang Ruo began producing some limited, very simple expressions in Shanghai dialect.

In the home about 1/3 of the books are in Chinese. When the father lived together with the family, he says he used to read to Sang Ruo about 2 or 3 times per week, whereas the mother almost never read to him in Chinese. Instead she occasionally reads to him in Japanese. But now Sang Ruo doesn't like to hear Chinese stories because it takes too much concentration to understand. Although the father acknowledged with regret that Chinese culture is not consciously taught in the home, he noted that the food prepared in the home by both parents is mostly Chinese. There are no Chinese videotapes, but several Chinese audiotapes of music are often listened to.

During this last summer, Sang Ruo went to northern Japan to spend about a month with his father. During this time the father tried to teach some Chinese literacy, but only got as far as writing Sang Ruo's name and reading a few place names such as China, Shanghai and Beijing. When the father tried to teach a Chinese poem, what came out was Chinese sounding like a foreigner with bad pronunciation.

The father says that he regrets his mistake in not having a plan about language. From the beginning he understood in his mind that he should have done something, but his busy life at the university and his wife's absence from the home during the day was not ideal. There wasn't enough time and care taken in the process and before they knew it, the time had passed.

The father's advice to others is not to speak the majority language at home. Speak only the minority language. Be sure to make and keep rules and don't be easy-going about it. Don't compromise.

When I asked the father about the family's future plan, I got a clue as to the root

of the problem. "We don't know when we will return to China. In fact, the mother doesn't even want to return at all. I do, though." Perhaps that explains why the mother was lax in using Chinese with her son. Perhaps another explanation may be in social and cultural implications of Sang Ruo's first and later lost language--his mother tongue, Shanghai dialect--which is not a nationally understood Chinese language as is Mandarin. The mother acknowledges that it is more important for Sang Ruo to know Mandarin than Shanghai dialect, but in her actual usage Shanghai dialect comes out naturally most of the time. To speak Mandarin needed more conscious efforts. Perhaps it was partly due to this paradox that she ended up speaking to Sang Ruo in Japanese most of the time. The father hopes that someday Sang Ruo will be able to speak Chinese again, specifically Mandarin Chinese.

As for a long term view of Sang Ruo, the father feels that if they go back to China in the near future, Chinese language acquisition will not be a problem. But if the family does not go back to China in the near future he would like to try to maintain within his son a Chinese sense and base until Sang Ruo gets old enough to realize by himself, "I am Chinese." Maybe this will occur by 10 years of age. But, the father says, it will depend on his personality. In the meantime they really don't know right now where they'll be years from now - - maybe in Europe.

7: Masami: The influence of a family's positive attitude

家族の積極的な態度の影響

Masami Shinohara (age 22.6, 4/6/73～) was born in Tokyo, but at two years of age moved with her family to a small town in northern Japan. She remained there until 19 when she set off for America by herself to study English and immerse herself in another culture for the next three years. The fact that Masami became bilingual after living in America for three years is less unusual than the circumstances surrounding her family's influence on her and her decision to live abroad.

Although Masami had had a 10-day overseas experience as a twelve year old in 6th grade when she toured Germany and Austria with an orchestra group, she never had to use any foreign language. It was just a cultural experience for her where she observed differences in old European and Japanese traditions, but felt nervous and scared being in a foreign country.

Through high school, Masami may have appeared like any other ordinary Japanese girl. Like other third year high school students her age, Masami began the rigorous task of preparing for entrance examinations to universities. However, through this process, Masami began to ask herself what it was that she really wanted out of life. She found memorization of facts to be meaningless and tiresome to her and she felt that since she had come to dislike studying very much that she should do something else instead. It was here that her decision to go to America can be attributed to a lifelong influence on her by her parents, especially her mother.

Masami's mother, Chikako (47) was born in the international port city of Kobe where she lived until 10 years of age, before moving to the north of Japan. During her junior high school days, she spent one year attending an English language *juku* and while in high school she was an active member in the English Speaking Society. During her last year of high school, with her club mates, she would ride on the train for two hours once a month to go to a nearby Air Force Base for the purpose of learning English by making friends and speaking in English with the Americans on the base. After high school, at age 19, she left for Tokyo to study English literature at Meiji University. While attending university, she took English conversation lessons at a separate school once a week for two years with a foreign teacher. She ended up spending ten years in Tokyo, where she met her future husband (from the same English literature department), got married, and gave birth to Masami. After marriage at age 23, she stopped using English. Back home with her family in northern Japan, now with two daughters, Chikako and her husband started their own business of operating children's clothing shops. It wasn't until age 40, when she

chanced to meet an American university student living in the vicinity, that her interest in speaking English was again sparked. Up to this time, there had been very few foreigners living in the area. Chikako, with Masami, now 18 years old, together started attending a local English language school twice a week where her American friend and another American were teaching. This continued for the next six months. After that Masami continued a private lesson with one of the teachers for another two months.

Although Chikako's overseas experience began after age 40 and includes three short trips totaling only 24 days, she can communicate verbally in English at a fairly advanced level, a unique attribute among women in rural Tohoku. She attributes her ability to her early influence in being around many foreigners in Kobe and her diligence and enthusiasm to soak up American culture.

Masami attributes her parents' influence on her not only to her mother's renewed use of English, but also to a constant culture existing in the home since she was born. Even though her father doesn't speak English, Masami would often hear her parents discussing points of American and European culture revealed through literature that they both had read. Masami's father is very fond of movies and even from her early childhood, there were English language videos in the home. Masami particularly remembers when she was in the 5th grade, her parents were watching a Michael Jackson video of "Thriller" which she had never seen before. She was overwhelmed by the appeal that her parents culture had to her. Aside from English movies and music, Masami was brought up in a home richly furnished with western antiques and paintings, many of which the family could easily view from the dinner table while partaking of Chikako's largely western menu. For several years the family subscribed to an English weekly newspaper. The home also contained many taped NHK television programs of English conversation lessons which Masami and Chikako often watched together.

Although Chikako had always maintained a longing and an idealistic dream of

America which she was never totally able to realize by herself, from the start it was Masami's own suggestion about going to America which influenced the realization of Chikako's dream through her daughter. Of course, from the beginning Chikako was supportive and encouraging of Masami's plan. She always kept a cool attitude even in the light of recent violent deaths of Japanese residing in America. The place chosen to send Masami was a relatively safe northwestern city where Masami and Chikako's English teacher's family resided. With the help of the teacher, Masami was able to get settled overseas comfortably and was soon able to make many new friends there.

When asked about the advantages of being bilingual, Chikako replied that it has given her the opportunity to know many countries' peoples. The ability to communicate with foreigners has increased her knowledge of other countries and cultures. She states, "Learning about other lifestyles and cultures is a self-fulfilling, positive thing for me. It has caused my thinking to expand." Chikako says that she can see the world from more than one viewpoint - not only as a Japanese. When asked, what message she might have for others wishing to accomplish what she has, she suggests not worrying about having a low English ability. Just make efforts to speak even if you think your ability is low; try to create chances to talk to others. She emphasizes that it is important to get knowledge through books, but it is equally important to learn about our world through talking and exchanging ideas with others.

As far as Masami is concerned, she is a half-year away from attaining an AA Degree at an American Community College where she intends to return as soon as she can make some more money. She has gained advanced English skills in everyday conversation as well as the ability to understand college lectures in English. She says that her English reading is quite good and improving, but her English reading speed is still only at 50 to 60% that of her Japanese reading. She says that English writing is the best for her. When her college teacher read a paper which Masami had written, she asked if Masami had attended junior or senior high school in America.

Masami says that she is very happy to have become bilingual. Masami

emphasized, "We only have one life. I don't want to waste this precious life. I don't want to get old and realize I haven't satisfied this curiosity which I have had about the world overseas since I was a child. I didn't want to remain only in Japan. There is a lot of things I wanted to know. I didn't like not knowing." English has served as a means for Masami to understand differences between Japan and USA and this has caused a change in her thinking. Before going to America, Masami disliked studying, but in the American college, she found that she began to like learning very much. "Studying in the USA had a different meaning. In Japan, we have to memorize things without meaning, but now I can study anything I like, even small things. In Japan, I was not good at self-expression and stating my own opinion, but in America all the classes require student opinions. There is much discussion and I like expressing myself now."

Masami's message for others is to do with your life as you want, because you have only one life; don't regret your past later. Do your dream.

Now Masami is working at a part-time job to earn enough money to fulfil her dream to return to America and complete her AA degree. After that she visualizes herself working in Japan in some kind of social work. In the meantime, she spends her spare time meeting with her best friend, a Chinese girl.

8. A brief history of bilingual schooling in Japan seen through five generations of one family

一家族の五世代にわたって見られる二か国語教育の歴史

This is a case study of five generations of one (mostly bi- and multilingual) family that has been residing in Japan for some 125 years. Through examining this family we can get a window into the history of schooling for bilingual children in Japan in the early years and see how it differs from today in terms of services offered and the needs of newer generations.

It is hard to believe that Ann Cary, a Caucasian American woman, didn't even

speak English, her second language, until age 6, although it was her mother tongue, or at least one of her mother's tongues. Born and raised in Japan by bilingual missionaries who were also children of bilingual missionaries, Ann's first language was Japanese. Ann's relatives have been living in Japan since the 1870's, making her children the fifth generation in her family to live in Japan and the fourth generation to grow up bilingually. Her father is a balanced bilingual with perfect pronunciation and inflection in both Japanese and English; Ann, herself, also reached this level, but not until age 11.

Ann's mother, an American citizen, born and raised in Turkey as a child of missionary parents, became a balanced bilingual in Turkish and English. However, since coming to Japan at age 28, the Turkish has been replaced by Japanese, after she attended a language school in Kyoto for missionaries. She attained Japanese fluency, but not with perfect inflection, and also reached a relatively high level of Japanese literacy. Both of her parents were bilingual in English and Turkish. Her mother learned Turkish as a young adult and her father who was born and raised in Turkey was a balanced bilingual. He was home-schooled in English and sent back to the USA at age 16 where he completed high school with few adjustment problems and then went on to medical school. Both of his parents (Ann's maternal great-grandparents), also physicians and missionaries, went to Turkey as young adults and became bilinguals.

Ann's father, having been born and raised in Japan as a missionary child, became a totally balanced bilingual with perfect inflection in both languages. He was the first in his family to attend a Japanese public school, completing through grade four. From grades five through eight he attended Canadian Academy (an international school) before going to the USA for his higher education. In those days, for the most part, foreign language instruction at international schools in Japan included Latin and French to prepare mostly missionaries for North American higher education, and Japanese was basically not part of the curriculum. It wasn't until young adulthood

that he became biliterate. This was achieved with the outbreak of WWII, when he was recruited by the US Navy during his junior year in university and sent to receive state-of-the-art Japanese language training where he studied amongst the ranks of many big-name early Japanologists including Donald Keene. His father, or Ann's grandfather, although born on a furlough in the USA, was also raised in Japan where he lived with his missionary parents from 1889 until he was sent back for education in America at age 12. Up to that time, he received home-schooling in English while living in Kyoto. He became a balanced bilingual with the ability to read Japanese. His wife, or Ann's paternal grandmother came to Japan as a young missionary and also acquired bilinguality. His parents (Ann's great grandparents) came to Japan in their mid-20's and became functionally bilingual to the level of being able to preach in Japanese.

Ann, born in 1950, was the second of four children. Until age 11 most of the sibling language was in Japanese and for the most part Ann didn't use much English at all during her preschool years. Then, with her family, Ann spent a year furlough from age 6 to 7 in the USA where she attended first grade. During this year she totally forgot Japanese and learned English within two months. However, within about a month of returning to Japan, the reverse happened and she stopped producing English and quickly picked up her Japanese. It was at this point that her parents decided to try harder to use more English. However, due to the fact that Ann's mother was a busy physician, Ann doesn't recall spending a lot of time at home with her mother. As a child, Ann felt more comfortable around her friends with her father's native-sounding Japanese. Ann, knowing that she didn't have to use English with her father, spoke with him in the home mostly in Japanese except for the year furlough in America, until after age 11. From the age of 7, when Ann returned to Japan, until age 11, when she started international school, Ann was a passive bilingual, meaning she could understand English spoken to her, but she did not speak in English and would answer in Japanese. This supports an earlier hypothesis which suggests that bi- or

multilingual parents, by the very point of possessing native majority language ability, often fail in the early stages to create a situation where the child is challenged to produce the minority language for the purpose of communication. However, such bilingual parents, serving as role-models, may find success at a later age when the same child comes to perceive the minority language as intrinsically important.

Ann's parents' choice to rely on international schools to complete the process of minority language acquisition and literacy when she was 11 shaped her linguistic development. She entered a class of 3 other students at the end of the 5th grade at an international school called Kyoto Christian Day School. In a few months her English came up to peer level without any sacrifice to her spoken Japanese. Another one year furlough from ages 13 to 14 was spent in America during which time she didn't loose her Japanese as she had on her earlier furlough; however, she became aware that if she didn't work on it, she would lose it. Thus, she returned to Japan as a bilingual balanced in verbal skills, although her Japanese writing had fallen well behind peer as she had had no formal instruction since 4th grade. Then from 7th grade she entered the same international school that her father had attended a generation earlier.

Ann laments that aside from a course in beginning Japanese, there was not a fully developed Japanese language program at international schools in those days. There were no courses in Japanese literacy and no support, no maintenance and no improvement programs either. Due to this she later had to work very hard on her own to catch up on Japanese literacy. She also states that later in her young adulthood, when she returned to Japan after college in America, she worked hard to learn to speak the kind of language an adult woman should.

Concerning her education, Ann emphasizes: "The consciousness of international schools towards teaching [the majority language] Japanese in the 60's was not very advanced. In those days, many of the children at international schools were

missionary children planning to receive their higher education back home. I consciously struggled to maintain and further upgrade my Japanese on my own because, at that time, Japanese was not fully part of the curriculum at my school as it was for Latin, French or German." Apparently that situation changed after Ann graduated in 1968 so that her younger siblings were able to receive advanced Japanese in high school.

Ann feels that for her children's generation things are different. "I want my children to have the choice. I feel that for our 'dual' culture children, learning both languages is not impossible with much encouragement along the way formally and informally, but they have the right, privilege and responsibility to be well-grounded in Japanese, too."

Now living in Matsuyama, Ann is married to a Japanese man and they have two daughters, Aiya (12:0) and Eka (9:9). Ann's husband, having spent 6 years from the ages of 26 to 32 in USA undergoing graduate studies, developed very fluent English. Ann and her husband, for the most part, have realized a one parent-one language method of communication in the home with their daughters, although it is not always totally maintained. The father, in a desire to keep up his communicative English ability, uses English in communication with Ann about 60 to 70% of the time. Occasionally he tries to speak English with the girls even though they nearly always respond in Japanese. Ann states that the children thought it sounded funny to hear their Japanese father using English in Japan, but they accept it now.

Ann has been fairly consistent with using English around her daughters except when speaking to Japanese speakers or helping with Japanese schoolwork, especially with the younger child. Although Ann estimates that she uses English with the girls 80 to 90% of the time, the older daughter responds in English only about 20% of the time and the younger daughter only 5% of the time. Both parents are only able to spend about 3 waking hours with Aiya and about 4 to 5 waking hours with Eka per day and all day Sundays. The mother reads to the children in English about three or four

times per week at bed-time and in Japanese, at their request, about 2 or 3 times per week.

The children were cared for from birth by Japanese baby-sitters until old enough to attend Japanese kindergarten and later elementary school. Interestingly and to the surprise of the parents, Aiya, although born and raised in Kansai by Kansai-dialect speaking bilingual parents, began speaking in standard Japanese, the language of her baby-sitters and, as they moved out of the Kansai area when she was four, she never did develop the dialect.

Aiya has had only four brief visits to the USA for one month each: twice at age one, and once each at ages 3 and 7 and Eka had two one-month visits at ages 1 and 5. Perhaps it is due in some degree to the same factors involved in Ann's upbringing by bilingual parents in a Japanese peer environment that, like herself, the first language spoken by both of Ann's daughters was Japanese, and English was not produced regularly by either of them until age 6 and only then in the presence of their English-speaking cousins, for the most part.

The language used between the siblings is almost always Japanese except when playing specific "English" types of games such as "English class", English songs or in the presence of other English-speaking dual children. When the maternal grandparents visit, in spite of their bilingual ability, there is a near total change to English, especially in the presence of the grandmother and non-Japanese speaking cousins.

One thing that is very clear about Ann's two daughters is that although they have nearly the same environmental circumstances, they can't be generally explained together as their innate linguistic natures are very different. While the elder daughter, Aiya, is described by her mother as very easy to care for as an infant and child who spoke her first word at eight months of age, the younger daughter, Eka, perhaps simply by contrast, caused initial parental concern about her ability to acquire a first language when the production of more than a few words did not occur

until around 2:6. While Aiya who rarely gets upset or angry is described as very stable and sure of herself, Eka is more energetic and volatile and expresses her emotions of anger, sadness or happiness readily. While Aiya sets her own pace and is independent, Eka tends to be dependent and attention-seeking; Aiya enjoys her Japanese public school very much while Eka has more difficulty appreciating school.

The effect these differences have on their bilingual acquisition is perhaps still yet to be determined. However, already Eka has demonstrated a striking connection between her feelings and her languages. Saddened by her dislike of and frustration with school, Eka came home one day and surprised her mother by rattling on and on in English about her feelings, searching for appropriate English words to vent her emotions. This was perhaps in anticipation of an upcoming tentative plan for a year stay in America, where Eka expects school to be freer and the student-teacher ratio to be much lower. It is interesting that she chose to express those negative Japanese school feelings in English and not in Japanese. Her mother listened in awe and encouraged her to speak on.

Presently the older daughter spends about an hour weekly with a high school student of dual background practicing English reading. Aiya's dominant language is Japanese, but she can and will communicate when necessary in English and when she does is careful to speak correctly. While her Japanese is at or above peer level, her English is below peer level; according to Ann her English speaking is at about the second or third grade level (she is now in the sixth grade). Aiya is a very good Japanese reader. As for English reading, in the beginning stages she more or less taught herself to read with Dr. Seuss type books. She currently reads second grade English material although, as mentioned above, she is currently studying with a tutor to further improve upon that.

Eka's English is also well below peer level. She understands her mother's English well and she prefers to use English when there is more English being used by others. She tries to communicate though often it is ungrammatical. While her

Japanese speaking and reading is at peer level, her English speaking is perhaps that of a 4 to 5 year old native speaker. As far as English reading is concerned, she tries to read words she finds, but she is still at the pre-reading stage. She prefers to be read to in Japanese but her mother reads to her in English anyway about half of the time.

There are no international schools in the area where they live. Ann and her husband are toying now with the idea of sending their daughters off to an international school such as Canadian Academy in Kobe (the same school attended both by Ann and her father) to live in the dormitories. But questions not only of costs, but also of loneliness (for the parents, mostly) have to be considered. Since Ann and her husband both feel that a solid Japanese knowledge is important, for now they think that they first want to see their daughters finish middle school (9th grade). Ann also stressed the importance of her children receiving primary Japanese education so that they can make local friends and develop lasting relationships. But perhaps more than any other factor, Ann says that it's important to know, "What do they want? We have to give some choice to the children. Perhaps they will choose to take their higher education in Japan and not overseas. Maybe they will select Japanese nationality. That's fine, if it's their choice."

For the most part both girls appear to be passive bilinguals who understand what is spoken to them in English but they usually answer in Japanese unless circumstances demand that they produce English to those who don't know Japanese, as Ann also did before the age of 11. Ann feels that these language problems can be ameliorated by a year stay overseas for the family as has proven to be the common sense approach to bilinguality for missionaries for centuries. Ann recalls her father often saying, "If kids go back two times [for a year each] before puberty, then their bilinguality is set." This worked for him and for his four kids, and Ann is quite certain it will work for hers too. However, Ann feels that this is not the only way to achieve bilinguality, reporting stories of several of her friends who achieved success

by other means such as going home every other year for a month at a time. More than any other factor working in their favor, certainly Ann and her husband provide the perfect role-models for their children to emulate on their path to bilinguality.

9: The Ghent family: The nurture/nature question revisited

先天性／後天性の問題再検討

Ruth and Martin Ghent, an energetic missionary couple from North America with Christian zeal and love of family, church and work have established themselves in their community, where they live and provide Christian guidance in their self-built church in a rural town in northern Japan. Their family consists of a nice balance of four lovely children who were all adopted: two are Caucasian, two are Asian; two boys and two girls. In several previous case studies, we have dealt repeatedly with the question of the influences of nurturing juxtaposed to influences of individual natures. In the case of a family with four adopted children of differing and to some extent unknown natures and ethnicity, it is the relatively stable "nurturing" variable which can be examined in determining the influence of family and environment on the four children's bilingual development. We will consider various aspects of the differing natures of each child and examine the contribution of nurturing related to language and environmental factors since the time of adoption, shortly after birth.

The father, Martin Ghent, is a Canadian who first came to Japan 13 years ago at age 23 for three months. When he later returned three years later he already knew quite a bit of Japanese. Having studied Japanese intensively since then in language schools and later through his community work with farmers and local people in rural areas of Japan, his speaking ability is quite high and he has picked up the local dialect as well. His literacy level is also quite high having learned 1400 *kanji*, which he uses to write out his sermons, presented in Japanese weekly at his church. Most of his day to day work is conducted in Japanese, although he uses English with his family

and gives an English sermon once a week.

Ruth is an American from a family which, when she was nine, adopted a 13 year old Korean girl who couldn't speak English. Through that experience, Ruth was able to learn some Korean words in her multi-cultural home and develop an interest in languages which continues to this day. Ruth accompanied her husband to Japan on his first trip for three months when she was 21 and together they came to live in Japan with their first child when she was 24. She attended language school in Hokkaido for a year and a half, while simultaneously studying Japanese one on one with a teacher for several hours each day. As a result, Ruth learned 1,200 *kanji*. Her Japanese speaking, which she practices in her daily work, is at an especially high level and her literacy skills allow her to help her children with their Japanese homework as they all attend Japanese public schools.

For all four children many of the same conditions prevail. They were all kept at home with the mother until age 4 or 5 when they started *hoikusho* (day care) and all of them spoke their first words in English. The father always uses English with the children as does Ruth, except under certain circumstances such as in the presence of Japanese people, or when helping with Japanese homework. All of the children use English for the most part when conversing with both parents and with Ruth's sister and husband (also a missionary family with five bilingual children) who live nearby. However, the sibling and cousin language is a combination of both English and Japanese. The time not spent in school is spent almost totally immersed in English, heard not only from the parents and relatives, but also from other missionaries, guests and church members who frequent the home/church.

Ruth has been using a reading program based on phonetic rules with her older children which she proclaims is not only excellent, but also comparatively reasonable in cost. The program is called, *Sing, Spell, Read & Write* and includes 17 phonetically serialized readers, a video and audio tapes. (Contact: International Learning Systems of North America, Inc., 1000 112th Circle North, Suite 100, St.

Petersburg, FL 33716 USA).

While the above environmental factors are consistent for the four children, their individual differences have necessitated use of contrasting language teaching techniques in order to meet individual needs. Following is a brief outline of each child and their characteristics and orientations.

Bethany

The Ghents' oldest child, a Caucasian daughter, Bethany (11;4), has acquired not only bilinguality, but also biliteracy in spite of having a learning difficulty since birth known as Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD).

Bethany was adopted in Canada at birth and holds Canadian citizenship. The first nine months of her life were spent in North America before traveling with her family to Singapore for three months and then moving with her family to Japan where she celebrated her first birthday. Except for six weeks at four years old and a year between ages five and six spent residing in North America, Bethany has remained in Japan and attended Japanese kindergarten and elementary school.

Behavior problems with Bethany were only subtly noticed when she was a small child, except for a severe hyperactive reaction upon eating chocolate and sweets for which she displayed cravings. Also Ruth explained that often when stressed Bethany would become totally overcome by emotions and then she would flutter her hands like a butterfly. Then at age four when she returned from daycare, she wouldn't be able to express herself if asked, "How was your day?" She couldn't recall what she had done at school that day.

As children at daycare are just expected to play and make friends, it didn't become clear to Ruth that there was a real problem until Bethany started first grade. By second grade it became even more clear as Bethany would come home and say she had forgotten her homework, or she would be unable to organize herself to write an essay. At first Ruth attributed these problems to bilingual development and

personality.

Not only is ADD a problem in terms of learning, but it also has a social effect as well. In second grade when a boy with a crush on Bethany showed his affection, she got angry. She got into fights with friends and often got in trouble for forgetting things and being unorganized. In the home, many fights between Bethany and her parents were interpreted as disobedience.

Frustrated and distraught Ruth resorted to prayer before an answer came and revealed itself as a turning point in a culmination of several events. Ruth had a friend with a hyperactive child on medication (Ritalin). Also at about this time Ruth was watching a well-respected, famous Christian musician, Michael W. Smith, being interviewed on a video. Suddenly one of his song writers blurted out, "Michael's hyper." That hopeful message left a strong impression with Ruth. After another friend suggested that maybe Bethany had ADD, Ruth consulted through letters, a Missionary Health Institute doctor in Canada who sent her information. With Bethany at that time in third grade, Ruth finally felt a big sense of relief simply in coming to realize that Bethany's inappropriate behavior was not deliberate and it had a name. This allowed her to be a hundred times more patient and a lot of anger subsided. Then a relative of Ruth's serving as a Superintendent of Schools sent her a package of basic information on ADD, designed for teachers.

From this point, Ruth began to rearrange many things in their lives and environment and began the process of learning how to cope with a disorder with no cure. Results were noticed immediately and the downward negative cycle of anger inciting anger in reaction to what had been perceived as deliberate bad behavior was now curtailed. Now efforts were made to increase Bethany's self-esteem by taking care in what was said, maintaining eye-contact and avoiding use of long sentences. Ruth discovered that what worked best for Bethany was a structured environment, regular sleep and detailed explanations beforehand of what would be coming up. But still the problem remained how to get through school.

Although Ruth has three other children, she spent a disproportionate amount of time working with Bethany at home. She would sit beside her three or four times per day while she did her homework expecting a maximum of only about twenty minutes each time. Ruth noticed great improvement. "Bethany has a tremendous understanding but she can lose it if people go on and on in explanation." ADD children can handle working on a few problems very well, but get overwhelmed with a lot of homework. Unfortunately, she had a teacher who gave a lot of homework .

When Martin built Bethany her own personal study room with no distractions, she became better able to concentrate for those short periods of time. Bethany's third grade teacher seemed hopeless. In fourth grade the teacher seemed willing, but didn't come to grasp Bethany's problem fully.

Now Bethany is in 5th grade with a male teacher. Recently Ruth went with Bethany directly to the teacher to find out exactly what was expected and to try to explain about Bethany. Ruth describes the encounter as two and a half "suffocating" hours talking in which the teacher preached at them. He used words like *sekinin* and *son o suru*. "You need to take responsibility for yourself. . . If you don't do it yourself, you'll suffer a lot." Of course, all of this is good advice, but Ruth knew it to be unworkable for ADD children. Bethany didn't have any idea of what he was talking about.

In spite of the problems of the above meeting, things now seem to be going a lot better. It seems that the ADD child responds better to a straightforward, authoritarian male figure. The true test of the success of her 5th grade teacher was when she began bringing home 100's on some of her tests instead of the usual 20's.

Due to her ADD, Bethany's language problems appear equally in both languages. Although her pronunciation is very good, sometimes her way of talking is choppy at times. She has to struggle a lot more and has gaps in understanding, but she has incredible retention if things are explained to her. Although Bethany usually speaks to her parents in English, when she is around her peers sometimes she doesn't want

them to hear her speaking English and then she uses Japanese with her mother.

The same things that Ruth learned about helping Bethany in her school life also applied to teaching her to read in English. From around age six, because of the demands of raising four children, even before Ruth had learned that an ADD child can't be pressed to concentrate for more than about 20 minutes, Ruth structured Bethany's reading time to run simultaneously with combing out and braiding her hair each morning. Bethany would hold the book with Ruth peering over her shoulder to make corrections and give hints. This time allocation coincidentally matched Bethany's attention span perfectly and worked out well in the beginning stages. Ruth never pushed her to do a lot, but remained consistent, gaining a little at a time.

Ruth describes Bethany as socially oriented in terms of her outlook on life. Although she has an outgoing personality and is not afraid to talk to anyone, she has a poor attention span which means she does not search for language verification in the form of asking questions. This causes her to miss out on details of language. However, if someone else draws them to her attention, she is able to remember them. Bethany is rule-oriented in her English reading. This may, in part, be due to the reading program (*Sing, Spell, Read & Write*) based on phonetic rules that Ruth began using with her while combing her hair. She also struggled her way through some English workbooks before Ruth quit due to lack of time before realizing the problem. Having completed the entire 17 readers in the series, Ruth now has Bethany read to her every morning from a book similar to a Devotional which has a story on each page with questions and a Bible study dealing with a moral question which helps Bethany with social relationships. Ruth had found that big books like novels or mysteries, which her second child, Micah, finds exciting, are too overwhelming for Bethany. Short stories of a few pages work best for her. Ruth has also once again taken up working regularly with Bethany with spelling and workbooks with success.

At Bethany's school's *undoukai* (Sports Meet) recently, Ruth proudly proclaimed that Bethany did very well. This did not mean that Bethany won anything. Success is

evaluated by different criteria. Bethany entered a group event, kept her promise to the group and did not have any fights. Perhaps most important, Bethany thoroughly enjoyed herself. Ruth states that the biggest obstacle was overcome simply by understanding the problem and Bethany's needs: for example, the length of time that she can handle concentrated study. At first twenty minutes was all, but now it seems that Bethany can often concentrate for up to forty minutes at a time. Ruth has learned many ideas on how to increase attention span.

Ruth feels that they are over the worst of it and that usually by puberty ADD children have learned to live with their difficulties well. I asked Ruth why she has avoided using medication with Bethany. Sometimes when Ruth gets really frustrated, she stops and thinks about how easy drugs would be, and then feels fortunate to be living in Japan where such medication is not an option. It's not the kind of drug you can just get in the States on a trip back home and administer yourself, as it has to be monitored closely. Had the family been living in America and opted to use the medication, perhaps they would not have tried so hard. Ruth is satisfied with what has been accomplished without drugs. Although she still gets frustrated on occasions and still has her moments with Bethany, she is satisfied with the very significant progress which has been made.

On the positive side of it all, she remembers hearing said of Michael W. Smith, "Michael's hyper." There is hope. Perhaps it is handicaps like this that provide a positive influence on people's lives in the end to challenge them to overcome their obstacles. Because people are different doesn't mean that they can't have a big impact on others around them.

Her message to others is to be disciplined as a parent. The task is very challenging, but it can be very positive as well if one keeps working at it. Speaking also from Martin's experience of having suffered from asthma since childhood, sometimes in near-death situations, Ruth recognizes how this burden has helped to make him strong, compassionate and persevering.

Micah

The second child, Micah (9;7), is an Asian boy, born in Hokkaido and adopted at birth. He holds dual Japanese/Canadian citizenship. Micah resided in North America for six weeks from 2;10 and for a year from ages 3 1/2 to 4 1/2. After the year abroad, when he returned to Japan, he had forgotten his Japanese until shortly thereafter when he entered *hoikusho* at age 5 and his Japanese returned. Whereas Bethany is rule-oriented, Micah is pictorially oriented. He has a broader overall intrinsic understanding of the big picture and uses a more whole-word approach in which he reads words he has memorized at a glance or impatiently tries to guess the unknown words. Although his mother states that this makes him harder to teach, she also sees him as a brilliant child who can draw wonderfully creative pictures but has sloppy handwriting.

In other ways unlike his elder Caucasian sister, Micah is not embarrassed to speak English in front of his peers nor to ask questions of language verification, which his mother feels has contributed to a better understanding of his languages. Ruth has been teaching him to read and write since he was about six years old and he is now over half way through the same readers his sister used. He loves books; however, he feels more comfortable reading Japanese than English books.

Aaron

Aaron (6;10) is a Caucasian boy, born in America, adopted at birth and first brought to Japan at 2 months old. He holds American/Canadian dual citizenship. At 8 months old, he went back to North America for a year before returning to Japan where he has resided since. He attended Japanese *hoikusho* for two years and is now in first grade in a Japanese school. Due to the opening of their own church, Aaron learned Japanese at an earlier age than his two older siblings, nearly simultaneously with his English. He is shy but observant and speaks the local dialect with flare. Ruth describes Aaron as being physically oriented. He wanted to do things by himself at

one and a half and proved himself as the daredevil, learning how to ride a bicycle early. In contrast to Micah's creative drawing talents, Aaron refused to draw until *hoikusho* and when he does so, he holds the pencil tight and draws dark. He writes his school-taught *hiragana* very precisely.

Naomi

Naomi (4;7), a Japanese girl and the baby of the family, was also received at birth. At this time she holds only Japanese citizenship due to some snaggles of adoption yet to be worked out and she has never been outside of Japan. Naomi's orientation is verbal; she loves to hear herself talk in either language, although her understanding is broader in English than in Japanese. Up until April of this year with the start of *hoikusho*, Naomi has remained at home with her mother who mainly uses English with her. Although she is quite attached to her mother, she is not shy. She admires her other siblings and wants to be like them. Feeling like the "queen of her castle" on her own turf at the church, whose many guests constantly shower her with praise for her ability to speak two languages and affection for her cuteness, Naomi has taken on the role of a self-assured little hostess, expressing herself in whichever language suits the situation.

Except for Bethany, who doesn't want to be seen as being different, the other three children enjoy their status and take great pride in being constantly praised for their ability to speak two languages. All of the children are stronger in verbal skills and in understanding of English than in Japanese. Ruth feels that her children are at about peer level in English speaking with monolingual English speakers of the same age. However, in terms of literacy skills, even the two older children who have progressed through English readers are still behind their peers and they feel more comfortable with their Japanese reading and writing.

In terms of their Japanese speaking abilities, the vocabulary of the four

children is more limited than their peers. However, the pronunciation and grammar is all there, and Ruth feels that is it just a matter of time before they reach perfect peer level. Naomi, the youngest, although limited in what she can say due to her age, chatters away and can communicate anything she wants and, according to her mother, will likely excel in both languages.

The Ghent home, renovated and enlarged by Martin, features an entire expansive wall of bookshelves filled mostly with English books for the children, magazines and newspapers and hundreds of kids' audio and video tapes in English. According to Ruth, these materials are all well used.

With four different personalities and needs from diverse birth-parent backgrounds comprising a large existing unknown factor, Ruth has tried to be sensitive to each individual, not only from a home-learning point of view, but also from the aspect of social and emotional needs. She has managed on her own to take each child individually through the process of minority language (English) acquisition in a very natural way. This was accomplished with the foresight of allowing her children to be simultaneously immersed in Japanese schools which enabled them to also develop Japanese verbal and literacy skills. Ruth realizes that language learning is supposed to be a long, slow process and it is something that can always be improved upon. She feels that it is possible to be completely fluent and literate in two languages and is doing her best to accomplish the task for her four children. She feels that even if they get through school a little slower than normal, it is worth it if they can accomplish literacy in two languages. They don't have to always get 100's. She just hopes that they will try their best without trying to pressure them beyond gentle prodding. The most important thing, as she sees it, is not to give up and not to be satisfied with staying at the same level. Basic to the process, Ruth notes, growing up and learning languages and about one's world involves also developing as a person and understanding other people and the differences between them.

10. Naoki: The returnees' dilemma

帰国子女の板ばさみ

Several years ago my colleague, Hisao Imai, came to me, shortly after the birth of his son Naoki (now 4;2), to ask me about the prospect of raising his child bilingually in English and Japanese. Although I offered him some suggestions, I also cautioned that it would not be easy for him and his Japanese wife to instill bilinguality in his child without, among other things, changing their home language to English. The interest and desire existed, but no particular bilingual training was undertaken, except to establish an opportunity through Hisao's job for his family to reside in England for a half year. This overseas residency just ended about a month ago and Hisao came again to consult me, soon after his return, about how to assure his son's budding bilinguality. I decided then that I would do a case study on their family. Even if Naoki cannot yet be called a bilingual by many people's definition, both parents certainly could be.

For twelve years, from 1978 until 1990, Hisao lived, worked and studied in England where he earned a BA degree in English and an MA degree in European Literary and Historical Studies. After three years overseas, he met his future wife, Yoshiko, who had recently arrived in England. She spent a total of eight and a half years in England, studying English for three years before their marriage, and then going to work at an overseas Japanese company after their marriage. Presently Hisao is an associate professor of English literature at a university in northern Japan and his wife is a homemaker. Both of them speak, read and understand English very well. Also Hisao teaches English and publishes articles in English about English literature and ESL.

Naoki was born a few years after they returned to Japan (8/7/92). Before Naoki was taken to England at 3;7 his upbringing was not much different from most other Japanese children. However, about twice per week, Naoki's father would read him one of several English picture books in their home which had been sent from

overseas by a friend. Naoki also learned how to read the capital letters of the alphabet with the help of some plastic ABC blocks also sent from abroad. As well, during this period Naoki sometimes watched *Sesame Street* in English on television.

In many ways the above exposure to English is not so uncommon these days in many educated Japanese families, where the children do not become bilingual, and are not expected to. It is usually merely meant to be a small head start on the educational fast track. But Naoki was a bit exceptional in that he had the opportunity to live in England for a half year with his family.

About one month after arriving in England, Naoki was put into a highly staffed play group nursery school with a ratio of about twenty children to about six teachers, which he enthusiastically attended. At first Naoki was placed in his own age group, but in order to ameliorate the new language difficulties, he was later shifted to a group one year younger than himself (2 to 3 years old), an age at which the first language is just beginning to emerge. Due to Easter Holiday and illness, the total time spent at the nursery school amounted to about three months, during which he attended Monday through Friday for two hours in the afternoons. At home with the family, the language was Japanese.

By the end of the six months, Naoki could be described as a passive bilingual, with English understanding under par compared with English native speakers at this stage, but clearly on his way to becoming bilingual with just a little more time. He could understand most, but certainly not all, of what his teacher said. He was also producing a few words and some set phrases including names of cartoon characters and people. His vocabulary comprised such words as the following: stop, get off, no-no-no, Postman Pat, Toy Story. He also could say the names of the trains from the *Thomas the Tank Engine* children's program such as Gordon, James and Henry with correct pronunciation. In nursery school he learned the first few lines of several children's songs and nursery rhymes such as *Humpty Dumpty* and the names of all the major colors and shapes.

Naoki's very easy, outgoing personality helped him to get along well with others in England. His father noticed that Naoki's English would come out especially in his play with other children. For example, playing in a park in London, Naoki, although limited in vocabulary, was seen by his father to attempt communication with other children using the few words he knew. He tried to sing the theme song of a children's television program, *Postman Pat*, in order to communicate. The other children corrected his mistakes, and echoing each other back and forth, Naoki's learning took place.

It is at about this point in his bilingual acquisition that Naoki has just returned to Japan. Based on what I have seen and read about preschool returnees, I cautioned the Imais that language attrition at this early age and stage is very quick and if they want to slow down that attrition, they had better decide to do something fast.

The father informed me that in England he had purchased over 30 children's English videos as well as several English videos for himself. Also they bought several boxes full of English children's books, some of which are yet to arrive. According to Hisao, recently Naoki has been spending several hours daily watching English videos of his own choosing and responding with laughter each time at the same part.

The father is the book-reader in the family, but recently has become too busy to resume that task. Hisao would like to have his wife take on the task of instilling bilinguality in (or teaching English to) Naoki. However, Yoshiko is simply not motivated nor confident enough of her own skills to do so.

So what about English lessons outside of the home? English lessons cost a lot of money, time and effort. Finding a good school or a good teacher is not always easy or even possible sometimes. Parents have to make personal decisions about just how important it is to undertake one thing over another. After all, are not swimming, piano, gymnastics and other types of lessons also important?

Although both parents have easy-going attitudes in which they see emotional development as more important than pressuring their son in educational excellence,

there are major differences in how they feel about the bilinguality of their son.

The father stated that he wanted to send Naoki to an English school, whereas the mother doesn't want to force him. She feels it is not so important. The father's point of view is that although he himself enjoyed the entire process immensely, he had to spend a lot of time and he had to work very hard to get his English to the level it has gotten today, and he feels that if his child could start earlier, it might make things a lot easier. On the other hand, the mother feels that Naoki doesn't need to be bilingual, although she believes it is good for him to be interested in it. Even though her English level is very high, she is worried about making mistakes in teaching Naoki English and says that she does not feel confident to teach him English. The father doesn't maintain the same attitude on that point. He believes that non-native speakers, with their limitations, should still try to challenge their language ability as much as they can and not be so concerned about mistakes.

I was impressed with Yoshiko's English ability in spite of her humble attitude, and put this question to her: Do you think your world is bigger because of your English? She answered that it was bigger, not because of speaking English, but because of living outside of Japan. Being able to speak English doesn't make that much difference here in Japan. She also added that while being someone who likes social encounters, she is the type of person who likes to stay at home a lot.

Hisao answered "yes" to the same question: "Knowing two languages gives us two worlds. It enriches our intellectual world." In his case, it has also provided him with his job. Hisao added that knowing English has furthermore allowed him to have English-speaking friends, and this doesn't particularly mean only native speakers; his best friend is Egyptian. In order to carry on this communication, an international language such as English is necessary and this is what he wants to pass on to his son.

Finally the father added one last word concerning what he considers to be one disadvantage for bilinguals in Japan. He felt worried that being bilingual might make

a child be perceived as being conceited and better than others, making himself a target for bullies. I felt more problematic, however, might first be the issue of whether that child will ever have the opportunity to appear boastful of that bilingualism.

Even if Naoki were to totally lose his English at this point in his life, there may, of course, be other possibilities beyond his present four years of age for him to once again attain and retain bilinguality. But, as for this time around, without some kind of outside intervention soon, that possibility may just have to wait for the next opportunity. Nonetheless, from observing Naoki's enthusiasm in attempting to sing English songs in the presence of a foreigner (myself) I can't help but feel that even if the language ability is lost, the memory and joy of all those experiences, songs and games in English will be certain to remain in his psyche and heart in some form forever.

Summary of Main Themes and Lessons Learned

主題と教訓のまとめ

These ten case study reports originally appeared in 12 separate issues of *Bilingual Japan* from November 1994 through December 1996, chronicling 20 bilingual individuals from 10 families residing in Japan. The following is a summary of educational choices and some of the main themes identified in these 20 cases, as well as a re-examination of the lessons learned.

Groupings

The 20 individuals were grouped into three types of bilinguals based on their parents' cultural make-up (See Chart 1): 1. Japanese children of two Japanese parents [2 cases] ; 2. children of two parents from foreign nations [11 cases] (Nine of these cases had two parents who spoke English as their first language and two families were Chinese (#3, 6), in which the parents of one family spoke differing

Chart 1: Details of Twenty Cases from Ten Families

Family	Case	Sex	name	age	Type (MIL parent)	Bilingual?	Schooling	#of Chart 2	MIL lit?
1	#1a	F	S., Leah	adult	Foreign	Bal bil	Home schooled only	2	MIL lit
	#1b	M	S., Willy	3;6	Bi-cult (Mom)	Dev bil	Toddler at home only	1	MIL lit
2	#2a	M	C., Paul	adult	Foreign	Bal bil	Home schooled only	2	MIL lit
	#2b	M	C., Jon	9	Bi-cul (Dad)	Passive bil	Returnee/Japan School	3b.	
	#2c	M	C., Jorge	3	Bi-cult (Dad)	Monol J.	Japan Kindergarten	3a.	
3	# 3	M	Rui	5;3	Foreign	Passive bil	Japan Kindergarten	3a.	
4	#4a	F	W., Kei	16;6	Bi-cul (Step-Dad)	Passive bil	Japan School	3b.	
	#4b	M	W., Sean	7;7	Bi-cul (Dad)	Passive bil	Japan School	3b.	
5	#5a	M	M., Jamie	6;10	Foreign	Dev bil	Overseas, JS + home MIL	5a.	MIL lit
	#5b	M	M., Paul	3;11	Foreign	Dev bil	J. Kinder + home MIL	5c.	
6	#6	M	Li Sang Ruo	7;3	Foreign	Monol J.	Japan School	3b.	
7	#7	F	Masami	22	Japanese	High L2 acq	J. School, Overseas Univ.	4a	
8	#8a	F	C., Ann	adult	Foreign	Bal bil	J. School, Intern'l. school	4b.	MIL lit
	#8b	F	C., Aiya	12;0	Bi-cul (Mom)	Border Acti	Japan School + home MIL	5b.	MIL lit
	#8c	F	C., Eka	9;9	Bi-cul (Mom)	Border Acti	Japan School + home MIL	5b.	MIL lit
9	#9a	M	G., Micah	9;7	Foreign	Dev bil	Japan School + home MIL	5b.	MIL lit
	#9b	F	G., Aaron	6;10	Foreign	Dev bil	Japan School + home MIL	5b.	MIL lit
	#9c	F	G., Naomi	4;7	Foreign	Dev bil	Japan Kinder. + home MIL	5c.	
	#9d	F	G., Beth	11;4	Foreign	Dev bil	Overseas, JS + home MIL	5a.	MIL lit
10	#10	M	Naoki	4;2	Japanese	Monol J.	Returnee/Japan School	3a.	

M	= male
F	= female
MIL	= minority language
Passive bil	= passive bilingualitỹ
Border acti	= borderline active bilingual
Dev bil	= developing bilingual
Bal bil	= balanced bilingual
High L2 acq	= high level of second language acquisition
monol J	= monolingual in Japanese
JS, J. school	= Japanese school
J	= Japanese
Kinder, K.	= Kindergarten
MIL lit	= Received minority language literacy instruction at home

dialects [#6]); and 3. bi-cultural children where one parent was Japanese and the other one was a foreigner [7 cases] (The foreign parent was the mother in three of the cases and the father in four cases, including one step-father. For all of the bicultural cases, the native language of the non-Japanese parent was English.).

Schooling Breakdown

There was a wide variety of schooling choices, including home teaching, public schooling and private schooling as well as overseas schooling or correspondence, selected by the parents of the 20 cases. Schooling choices were broken down into five major categories with sub-categories in some (see Chart 2). The five major categories were as follows: 1.) No formal schooling yet (pre-school age) [1 case], 2.) Overseas correspondence home schooling (no Japanese schooling) [2 cases], 3.) Japanese schooling with little minority language home input [7 cases], 4.) Started out with Japanese schooling and then shifted to other [2 cases], 5.) Simultaneously received Japanese schooling with other minority language schooling [8 cases].

Except for two adult cases who had been totally home schooled and one pre-school age case who remained at home, all the rest of the cases attended some Japanese public school either totally or in some combination with other schooling. Seven of these cases attended Japanese kindergarten (3 cases) or elementary schooling (4 cases) with only a small influence of minority language input in the home.

Including the three adult cases who were raised in Japan, a total of ten out of the twenty cases received at least some instruction in minority language reading and writing at home (#1a, 1b, 2b, 5a, 8a, 8b, 8c, 9a, 9b, and 9d). (See below for more detail on minority language literacy training.)

Of the two returnee children who had resided overseas (#2b, #10), one attended an elementary school and the other attended a pre-school while overseas. Both of these cases came back to continue Japanese public elementary schooling with little other regular minority language input.

Chart 2: Schooling Breakdown of the 20 Cases

There were five major categories of schooling with sub-categories in some as follows:

1.) No formal schooling yet--pre-school age child remaining at home **[1 case]**
2.) Overseas correspondence home schooling (No Japanese schooling) **[2 cases]**
3.) Japanese schooling with little minority language home input **[7 cases]**
   a. Japanese pre-school--3 cases
   b. Japanese elementary school--4 cases
4.) Started out with Japanese schooling and then shifted to other **[2 cases]**
   a. Upon completion of Japanese schooling (kindergarten through high school), shifted to overseas university--1 case
   b. Upon completion of Japanese elementary school (interspersed with some overseas school experiences), shifted to an international school in Japan--1 case
5.) Simultaneously received Japanese schooling with other minority language schooling **[8 cases]**
   a. Foreign child having attended *kindergarten* overseas before coming to Japan, now attends Japanese schools while simultaneously receiving minority language training at home--2 cases
   b. Foreign child who has lived only in Japan attends Japanese *elementary* school while simultaneously receiving minority language training at home--4 cases.
   c. Foreign child who has lived only in Japan attends Japanese *kindergarten* while simultaneously receiving minority language training at home--2 cases.

Only two children out of the eighteen foreign or bi-cultural cases had some schooling overseas before entering Japanese schooling coupled with minority language reinforcement in the home. Two cases took their entire schooling at home through correspondence before embarking on university in Japan. One case completed Japanese schooling complete through high school before embarking on further education overseas. One case began with Japanese schooling and shifted to an international school after completing Japanese elementary school.

There were six cases of children with two foreign minority language parents who lived virtually their entire lives in Japan. Two attended Japanese kindergarten (#5b, 9c) and four attended elementary school (#8b, 8c, 9a, 9b) while simultaneously receiving minority language input at home. Of these, the four elementary school cases also received instruction in reading and writing the minority language.

Main Themes and Some Examples/Lessons

Following are explanations and examples of the main themes that became most apparent through examination of these 20 cases from ten families. All of the cases had more than one theme applicable to them. The nurture/nature theme applied to all of the cases. Below is a brief explanation of each theme with a review of some example cases.

Nurture/Nature

One of the main themes relevant to all of the cases was the importance of the influence of nurture and nature. It mattered significantly what the parent did or did not do to instill bilingualism. The individual natures of each case influenced the outcome of the various approaches to bilingual nurturing.

In cases #9a - #9d, the nurture/nature question was examined in a family of four adopted children, two of whom were Asian, two Caucasian, each with their differing natures--the eldest of whom had a learning disability (ADD) as well (case #9d). In spite of the necessity of using four different teaching/learning strategies with each of the four children, the mother was able to insure that her children acquired not only bilinguality but also bi-literacy.

Minority Language Mothers versus Minority Language Fathers

In cases of bi-cultural marriages where one parent was Japanese and the other

was a speaker of the minority language (MIL), the children with MIL mothers were shown to be more successful in acquiring bilinguality than those with MIL fathers (Also reported elsewhere: Kamada, 1995a, 1995b, 1996). All four of the cases with MIL fathers failed to acquire active bilinguality whereas three out of three cases with a MIL mother were succeeding in bilingual acquisition.

The power of the mother tongue was especially brought home when three children were examined from two families each parented by couples of Japanese nationals respectively married with MIL speaking brother/sister siblings of a New Zealand missionary family (cases #1a - #2c). Willy, the child of the MIL mother succeeded in acquiring bilinguality, whereas Jon and Jorge, the children of the MIL father failed to acquire bilinguality even though Jon at one point had acquired it while abroad, but later lost it due to lack of sufficient reinforcement. On the other hand, Willy, the child of the MIL mother, in the beginning started using Japanese more than English due to babysitters' care while the mother worked. Upon realizing this problem, the mother totally shifted her life priorities, changed jobs so that she could work at home and began consciously to concentrate hard on using English with Willy in speaking, playing, and reading. This basic innate drive for women to conquer extreme obstacles of speech interchange and interaction is commonly enacted with much modesty and self-denial in ways that are often either socially or financially unavailable to men. It was also felt that the instinctive drive of men to pass on the father tongue is much weaker than the maternal drive to pass on the mother tongue.

Passive Bilinguality

It was felt that the bottom line in these evaluations does not have to be a definite success or failure assessment at a given point in time based on the presence or absence of the ability to speak two languages. In the above category where it may appear that the children of MIL fathers had failed to acquire the minority language, often the children, while unable to produce the MIL, could understand it; this is

commonly referred to as passive bilingualism. Four of the above cases with MIL fathers (# 2b, 3, 4a, 4b) could be said to be passive bilinguals or to maintain partial passive understanding of the minority language. Also two more cases (#8b, 8c) could be classified as borderline active bilinguals who spoke the minority language with some difficulty when necessary. This lack of language productivity does not mean that these children will never acquire the ability to speak the language with ease. Often there is a latent ability that develops upon change of environment, attitudes or needs of the child. In some cases, however, where such circumstances and opportunities are lacking, the MIL may never develop. In many instances an easy-going attitude of the fathers in the above category is indicative of their feeling that their children do not immediately need to speak the MIL and that it will develop on its own as the child matures and develops curiosity about it. This factor has yet to be further tested by examining the long term results of these cases over a period of time.

Parental Laxness and Uncertainty

Contrary to the argument above that passive bilingualism does not constitute failure, an overly lax attitude toward bilingual development on the part of the parents can result in attrition and language loss, causing regret later when parents realize that they should have done something more than they did. In this and other studies of MIL fathers and Japanese mothers (Kamada, 1995a, 1995b, 1996), several fathers were surveyed who had tried, with some success in the early stages, to instill the MIL on their children, but later gave up after realizing the difficulty of the task and requirement of total dedication. Also relevant to the problem of laxness, returnee children in many instances were seen to be at risk of MIL attrition when insufficient efforts were taken to reinforce their MIL upon return to Japan. Returnee parents need to decide where their priorities are regarding their children's education; English is not always at the top of the list.

In the case of a Chinese family (#6) where the mother spoke the Shanghai dialect and the father spoke standard Chinese, it appeared equally unnatural for the mother to use standard Chinese as for her to use Japanese with her child, which is what she did. Although the father eventually hoped to return to China at some point, the mother felt that she really didn't want to return to China. Due to these reasons of identity and attitude conflicts coupled with future uncertainty, the failure of the mother in using the MIL consistently resulted in monolingual acquisition of Japanese by the Chinese son.

Children of Bilingual Parents

As obvious as it may sound, many bilingual parents realize only after it is too late, the fact that bilinguality is not something that can be simply handed down hereditarily from parents to child. In fact, contrary to expectation, it was found that often bilinguals who were raised in Japan such as missionary children or dual children of bi-cultural families who later married Japanese spouses suffered more setbacks in nurturing active bilinguality in their children than did monolingual parents who spoke the minority language only. In this monograph, three such families were included where one family met with success (#1a) only after experiencing trouble at first and then shifting priorities. In another family (#2), the reverse occurred: the older boy (#2a) returned from an overseas experience with bilingual acquisition, but later lost it. Finally, in family #8 the parents of two daughters (#8b, 8c) were seen struggling to bring the level of the minority language up from borderline passive bilingualism.

In contrast to this, monolingual MIL parents often met with much more success as their children were obliged to challenge themselves to find means of self expression in the minority language in order to interact with the parents without having the option of slipping easily into Japanese expressions that they had been using all day long at school. Of course there is a disadvantage too for parents unable to

converse in the majority language. When the child's stronger and preferred language becomes the majority language which the parents can not understand, often parents and children alike come to feel frustration in simple daily communication.

On the other hand, for bilingual parents, it is often extremely difficult for them to ignore communication with a child who is unable to express him/herself in a language that the parent is trying to model; it is too easy and natural to just let children express themselves freely in the language that best communicates their feelings. Bilingual parents are often not willing to let go of the discussion simply because of linguistic rules set in the home. They are also often much better able to empathize with the frustrations that their children encounter in bilingual development, having gone through a similar experience themselves. For these reasons often bilingualism of this group is sacrificed or delayed.

Missionary Families and Biliteracy

Two missionary families (#5, 8) as well as three bicultural families comprised of one parent raised in a missionary family in Japan (#1, 2, 3) were included here, totaling 14 missionary-related cases. The report on one family (Cases #8a - #8c) chronicled the history of bilingual schooling in Japan seen through five generations of decisions made by this single missionary family. What became most apparent was the changing attitudes towards the choice of Japanese schooling. In the earlier years of missionary education in Japan, over 100 years ago, children were taught English at home in Japan and received higher education in international schools or abroad, generally in their parents' home country. Minority language literacy instruction has always held a great priority for education-conscious missionaries in Japan. Missionaries, through a long tradition, have established an intricate system of support, commitment and materials available to deal with almost any problem imaginable.

The father of another missionary family in the studies (#5a, 5b) referred to

his children as "third culture kids" which he described as children who grow up in another culture different from their parents and who are not products of mixed nationality parents, from whom they differ. "The children are neither a product simply of the first culture of their parents, nor of the second culture where they are raised, but are an amalgam of both, comprising a separate third culture." (See case report #5.) In recent years, the bilinguality of this group has come to take a more elevated role in missionary education. More and more missionary families are sending their children to public schools to learn Japanese and participate in Japanese society. However this has not in the least loosened the commitment to minority language literacy. Due to this, missionaries have lead the way in Japan in successfully raising not only bilingual children, but also children who are literate in two languages as well.

Returnees

As referred to before in previous summaries of case studies (Kamada, 1995a, 1995b, 1996), returnee families who offer their children immediate reinforcement in MIL instruction, be it inside the home or outside in private ESL schools or with private tutors, succeed in slowing or halting the attrition of the MIL acquired while residing overseas. This is in contrast to returnee families who fail to take any immediate steps to reinforce the MIL upon return to Japan. Attrition of the MIL, especially for small children, can be very fast and often total if there is no conscious reinforcement and use of the MIL (see cases #2b, 10).

Unique/Odd Language Relationships within the Family

Language relationships within the family were seen in many forms throughout these case studies. But the importance of using the MIL in the home was consistently reinforced. Many cases already cited above are examples of how certain odd language relationships affected language acquisition of the children. (Especially refer to

families #2, 3, 4, 6, and 8 as examples of unique or odd language relationships within families.)

Perhaps the most striking example was Family #4 (Case #4a, 4b) in which language relationships between members were varied and became fixed and unchangeable. The British father and the Japanese mother spoke English with one another; the mother spoke in Japanese to the children with the children addressing her in Japanese; the father spoke in English to his step-daughter, with her addressing him in Japanese; the father spoke to his son also in English and he would usually answer in Japanese, but sometimes in English; and the language used between the siblings was Japanese. In this family only the mother spoke two languages on a daily basis in the home. All the other members, including the father, heard two languages, but only spoke one at home. The result was that the two children acquired passive bilinguality.

Frequent (or Long Duration) Trips Overseas

An important factor significantly contributing to bilingualism was frequent trips overseas or longer trips of less frequency (See also, Kamada, 1995a, 1995b, 1996). Missionary wisdom has taught that furloughs of one year duration at five year intervals is sufficient for acquiring bilinguality and maintaining a hold on one's native cultural identity (see #8). This usually translates into two or three furloughs for children raised entirely in Japan. In other families who have the means, making overseas trips of shorter duration and more frequency such as one month per year or every other year, also has been shown to contribute significantly to bilingual development. (See Family #3.)

Minority Language Literacy Training at Home by Parents

Addressed to some extent above in other categories, the teaching of reading and writing of the minority language in the home by parents hoping to nurture bi-

literate children was felt to be a very important component in bilingual acquisition. Half of the cases had at least some minority language literacy training at home. All of these budding bi-literate cases were either developing bilinguals or balanced bilinguals, with two borderline active bilinguals. In contrast, out of the remaining ten cases who did not receive MIL literacy instruction at home, four cases were passive bilinguals who could understand much of the MIL but could not speak it, and three other cases remained monolingual in Japanese only.

Conclusion

As this report is a part of a larger ongoing research project, the purpose up to this point has been merely to recognize the major themes occurring in bilingual families in Japan which I have had the opportunity of coming across. This report is by no means a statistically reliable sampling of the Japanese bilingual milieu; it is merely a collection of 20 individual case studies from ten families, each examined alone for its own lessons and compiled here for the purpose of analysis and further testing. As this project continues, hopefully greater progress will be made towards the goal of clarifying educational options and limitations for bilinguals in Japan as well as illuminating significant factors contributing to bilingualism.

References

Kamada, L. (1995a). Report on bilingual family case studies in Japan: Significant factors affecting bilinguality. *Faculty of Humanities, Hirosaki Nat'l. University. Studies in the Humanities & Economics*. 30:3, 113-129.

---. (1995b). *Monographs on Bilingualism, No. 3: Bilingual Family Case Studies, Vol. 1*. Japan Association for Language Teaching, Bilingualism National Special Interest Group publication. 36pp.

---. (1996). The nurture and nature of bilingual acquisition. *On JALT '95: Curriculum and evaluation*. A publication of The Japan Association for Language Teaching. 146-151.

Author Laurel Kamada and her bilingual son Jonah, age 6.

このモノグラフは、全国語学教育学会バイリンガリズム研究部会が作り出したシリーズの一つです。この部会は,バイリンガリズムの調査計画や調査多角化を促進することを目的にしています。また、会員間の相互援助の基盤となる場所を提供します。

このモノグラフの原典はもともと*バイリンガル通信*、この部会のニュースレター、に連載されていました。それをStephen M. Ryanがモノグラフの形にしました。

バイリンガリズム部会とその出版物に関するさらに詳しい情報がお知りになりたい方は、Stephen M. Ryan、〒567大阪府茨木市天王1－5－39-704(FAX: 0726-24-2793).までご連絡下さい。

This monograph is one of a series produced by the Bilingualism National Special Interest Group of the Japan Association for Language Teaching. The group aims to encourage research projects into bilingualism and to disseminate their findings. It also acts as a base for mutual support between group members.

The text of this monograph originally appeared in serialised form in the pages of *Bilingual Japan*, the bi-monthly newsletter of the group. It was produced in monograph form by Stephen M. Ryan.

For further information about the Bilingualism N-Sig and its publications, please contact: Stephen M. Ryan, Rafine Minami Ibaraki 704, 1-5-39 Tenno, Ibaraki, Osaka 〒567 (FAX: 0726-24-2793).